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~~TOP SECRET~~ SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY 170141Z AUG 72  
VIA CAS CHANNELS (BUNKER CHANNEL)

SAIGON 0134

HAKTO 13

TO: GENERAL HAIG, THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

REF: TOHAK 44; 40; 42

1. YOU CAN TALK TO HELMS ON MATTER RAISED IN SOLOMON TELEPHONE CALL PREPARATORY TO HIS DISCUSSING REALISTIC CHOICES. I SHALL DISCUSS IT ON MY RETURN BUT THAT IS ALL THAT SHOULD BE DONE NOW. I WANT NOTHING, REPEAT NOTHING, IN WRITING. I REPEAT THAT I WOULD RATHER RISK HEAT FOR NOW THAN INCUR THE DAMAGE OF PREMATURE INVOLVEMENT IN WHAT MAY BE PROVOCATION AND IS CERTAIN TO INVITE VIOLENT SOVIET REACTION.

2. RE ZIEGLER'S COMMENTS THAT QUOTE WE ARE IN A SENSITIVE TIME NOW UNQUOTE. I REPEAT AGAIN THAT THIS KIND OF COMMENT MUST STOP. IF ANYTHING BLOWS OUR PRIVATE TALKS IT WILL BE PRETEXT FOR OTHER SIDE TO SAY THAT WHITE HOUSE IS STIRRING SPECULATION. ZIEGLER AND ALL OTHER SPOKESMEN MUST SAY ONLY QUOTE NO COMMENT UNQUOTE OR QUOTE WE AGREED TO SAY NOTHING UNQUOTE ON THE TALKS AND NOTHING ELSE REGARDLESS OF HEAT. EVERYBODY ELSE MUST BE ORDERED TO STOP TALKING.

3. WE MUST GET THE INTERIM OFFENSIVE AGREEMENT APPROVED SOON OR WE WILL BE LEFT WITH NOTHING BUT A DEFENSIVE TREATY BECAUSE OF ALL THE MANEUVERING GOING ON. I WOULD RATHER HAVE AN AGREEMENT WITHOUT AMENDMENT THAN NONE AT ALL. PLEASE SEND ME ESTIMATE OF WHEN APPROVAL OF AGREEMENT LIKELY. JACKSON IS SUCCEEDING IN CASTING DOUBT ON A SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT.

4. PLEASE MAKE SURE THAT DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS RECEIVES INVITATION TO THE PRESIDENT'S AUGUST 27 PARTY. I TOLD HIM HE WOULD GET ONE. IT SHOULD BE SENT TO THE CALIFORNIA ADDRESS HE GAVE THE OFFICE. STEVE BULL KNOWS ABOUT PARTY.

5. HAS THE BROWNELL APPOINTMENT BEEN ANNOUNCED? THIS SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE MONDAY OR TUESDAY AS I PROMISED TO THE MEXICANS. ALSO, DID BROWNELL SEE RABASA?

6. PLEASE TELL STEPHEN GRAUBARD I WOULD LIKE TO SEE HIM FOR BREAKFAST MONDAY, AUGUST 21. ALSO PLEASE HAVE BARBER AVAILABLE AS SPECIAL FAVOR MONDAY MORNING.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

WARM REGARDS.

170141Z

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SEND VIA SPECIAL CHANNEL

TO: GENERAL HAIG, THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

REF: TOHAK 44; 40; 42

HAKTO 13

1. You can talk to Helms on matter raised in Solomon telephone call preparatory to his discussing realistic choices. I shall discuss it on my return but that is all that should be done now. I want nothing, repeat nothing, in writing. I repeat that I would rather risk heat for now than incur the damage of premature involvement in what may be provocation and is certain to invite violent Soviet reaction.

2. Re Ziegler's comments that quote we are in a sensitive time now unquote. I repeat again that this kind of comment must stop. If anything blows our private talks it will be pretext for other side to say that White House is stirring speculation. Ziegler and all other spokesmen must say only quote no comment unquote or quote we agreed to say nothing unquote on the talks and nothing else regardless of heat. Everybody else must be ordered to stop talking.

3. We must get the interim offensive agreement approved soon or we will be left with nothing but a defensive treaty because of all the maneuvering going on. I would rather have an agreement without

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amendment than none at all. Please send me estimate of when approval of agreement likely. Jackson is succeeding in casting doubt on a significant achievement.

4. Please make sure that Douglas Fairbanks receives invitation to the President's August 27 party. I told him he would get one. It should be sent to the California address he gave the office. Steve Bull knows about party.

5. Has the Brownell appointment been announced? This should have been done Monday or Tuesday as I promised to the Mexicans. Also, did Brownell see Rabasa?

6. Please tell Stephen Graubard I would like to see him for breakfast Monday, August 21. Also please have barber available as special favor Monday morning.

Warm regards.

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